

THE ISNEG LIFE CYCLE

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that may occur, as it is the ultimate cause of the anger of the spirits, who are deprived of their usual offerings through the abolition of headhunting.

But let us come back to our original purpose of describing the Isneg life cycle, and leave those digressions about fate and spirits for some other time. I shall first treat birth; second, education and home life; third, marriage; and fourth, death and burial.

I. BIRTH AND INFANCY

The birth of a child is as a matter of course a very important event, not only for the individual in question, but also for everybody concerned. Any addition to the household is hailed with delight by each and every member of the family, and children are considered as a very precious asset by all Isneg. Some five years ago, at the very beginning of my residence among the Isneg, while I was chatting one day with the justice of the peace of Kabugaw at the latter's house, an Isneg woman came to see him in order to ask him to allow her to divorce her husband. When the judge remonstrated and tried to convince her not to resort to such a drastic procedure, by describing its bad effects more especially on her own self, the woman merely replied that she could stand anything from now on, as during her short married life she had been given "gain" (she used the Spanish term *ganancia*); and when the judge asked her what kind of gain she meant, she merely showed him her child. While in the eyes of most persons a child would be an obstacle to the easy divorce of its parents, in the eyes of this Isneg mother, the child that had been given to her was considered as a treasure that would compensate all hardships incident on the separation from her husband.

A. PREGNANCY AND GESTATION

In order to promote pregnancy, some married Isneg women buy what some of them call "medicine" either from the Christian flock or from other married people among their own tribe. This "medicine" usually consists of one or more kinds of herbs which are the secret of the seller. The buyer carries them on her body, tying them to her girdle in front, either above the right thigh or above the left one. The *ñhamáná*, a herb that grows on trees, is chewed by Isneg women for the same purpose.

A kind of small herb, called *ama-dá*, is occasionally used by Isneg women in order to stop bearing children. Somebody goes to the

824 forest, gathers the herb in question, wraps it in a piece of cloth, and
842 brings it to the woman, who immediately starts chewing it. This is mostly practised only by mothers who have already been blessed with a numerous offspring.

843 Both Iloko and Kagayan attach much weight to the capricious
811 appetite of a pregnant woman, and to whatever she loves or loathes at the time, all of which they believe to have its repercussion on the baby that has to be born. So some years ago a certain Kagayan mother gave birth to a child whose skin was much more lightly colored than that of its brothers and sisters, and everybody explained the occurrence by the fact that the mother, while pregnant, had had a very great devotion to a statue of the Divine Babe, which was either made of white material or at least painted white, and that she had gone almost daily to pray in front of the statue in question. All Isneg, however, whom I questioned on the subject disclaimed both knowledge of such a belief and its existence among their people.

843 Whatever may be the reason, the Isneg do not seem to dread the
T16 intervention of the spirits (*anito*) before the actual birth of the child. Do they perhaps imagine that the *anito* are ignorant about the ways of the flesh, and that they do not know the meaning of pregnancy? Or do they believe that the spirits have no power on children as yet unborn? The latter is probably the case. I think that in their eyes, as long as a child dwells in the womb of its mother, only what enters the body (food, semen) is able to exert any influence on it, and that outsiders can in no way affect it. And so, except for a few beliefs with reference to food, the only precaution that is taken during the pregnancy of the mother is that the husband ceases having sexual intercourse with his wife so soon as her state is known with certainty, lest, so they say, the babe be injured. For the rest everything runs its usual course, and, although such a large number of magical and other practices have come to my notice at every other period of the life of the Isneg, the period that precedes the birth of a child has so far proved to be completely devoid of any belief in the evil influence of one spirit or another.

843 In some places a woman who is pregnant for the first time, is be-
824 lieved to assure the good health of her babe after its birth, if she eats *aradû*, which is the fruit of a kind of tree that grows in the forest.

843 These are the articles of food forbidden to pregnant women which
262 have come to my notice:

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From a Dangla informant:

Three kinds of sugar cane:

The *sazádaw*, which has a yellow skin;

The *lokóg*, with a dark-purple skin;

The *bandáan*, with a reddish-brown skin.

Three kinds of bananas:

The *dokkasi*, which is a very large banana with a thick yellow skin;

The *parandn*, which is very small and has a thin yellow skin, its taste is more or less sour, and it grows in very large bunches;

The *lippokán* (Iloko: *alimúken*), a small egg-shaped banana with a thin greenish skin.

The terminal bud or cabbage (*baranibad*) of the fish-tail palm (*anibon*, *Caryota cumingii* Lodd.).

The *toból* or soft meat of a sprouting coconut, lest the woman experience difficulty in giving birth to her child.

From a Nagbabalayan informant:

Legs of a pig, for the same reason as in the case of the *toból*.

It should be noted in this connection that taboos are not always universally observed all over the district of Apayaw. For instance, a certain article of food may be forbidden over a comparatively large area, while everywhere else such a taboo is unknown and consequently unobserved.

B. CHILDBIRTH AND POST-NATAL CARE

A pregnant (*nabu-sit*; *bu-sit*, in Isneg, means "fetus"; *buksit*, in Iloko, means "belly, abdomen"; "fetus", in Iloko, is *sikúg*) woman goes about her ordinary duties up to the last moment. I have known a Kankanay woman who gave birth to her child while she was working in an irrigated rice field, and, although I know of no similar cases among the Isneg, it has been told me more than once that an Isneg mother could give birth to her child anywhere, even though walking and at work. On other occasions, while inquiring about their proper names, I was told that a woman who gave birth to a child in the bush, might call her child "Bush" (*sirdt*); if she brought forth her offspring near some tree, the name of that particular tree might be given to the newborn babe. All this goes to prove that the intensive care taken by and for a future mother in more civilized areas is entirely absent and considered as quite superfluous among our sturdy mountaineers.

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843 Nevertheless such extreme cases are the exception, as may be readily understood. Under normal conditions an Imeg mother is delivered at home surrounded by persons who are in a position to assist her and to look out for whatever is necessary or suitable on this important occasion.

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824 If a future mother is able to secure some *tarañlaká* or *añlaká*, this is fortunate indeed: in the eyes of the Imeg, this herb exerts a magical influence on the birth of a child, and the mother who carries the *tarañlaká* (in Iloko *laká* means "casiness") on her body will be delivered without the least difficulty. The *māyandw* vine also is supposed to have the same power. Should she happen, however, to meet *añlónog* (a small herb), the Imeg are firmly convinced that a single look at these nefarious plants will cause her to experience much difficulty in giving birth to her child.

1. Normal Cases

844 I shall first examine the usual case of a single living child that is born to a couple of happy parents; later on a few abnormalities will be considered.

Here, even from the beginning, I am confronted with contradictory statements, namely with reference to the place of the house where the mother gives birth (*mazan-and*, from *an-and*, "child") to her child. Some say that the mother is delivered near the place of the hearth; others assert that any part of the house will do. From Bayag comes a corroboration of the first statement: at that place the kitchen is usually separated from the house proper, and it was told me that in case a woman was in labor the hearth would be taken out of the kitchen and brought to the house, after which the child would be born near this transferred hearth.

Everything considered I do not think it very difficult to explain the contradiction involved in the above statements and to arrive at the exact truth about the matter. All my informants agreed that the place of a woman after her delivery was near the hearth (*dapág*) of the house. Now, whereas all these informants were men, and men have no business to be present at the exact moment of child-birth, the real place may very easily have escaped the notice of some of them in every instance, and the subsequent position of the mother may have led them to believe that the actual place was the original one. Besides, it is obvious that, whenever possible, the mother will go near the hearth from the beginning in order to avoid the trouble of being

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All men who do not belong to the family are forbidden to enter the house, and even those who live there, whether small boys or adults, have to keep away from the mother,—a prohibition which is easily complied with, as Isneg houses are very roomy. The husband alone forms an exception to this rule in a few places, Bayag for instance, where he is allowed to assist the women; but in most other localities, he himself, although permitted to stay in the house, has to turn the other way and is forbidden to witness the birth of his offspring. Nobody, however, is allowed to remain at the door (*xagiyánán*): this is strictly taboo; all persons have either to enter the house, provided of course they belong to that set of people who are not forbidden to be present on such an occasion, or to stay outside below the ladder.

The Isneg mother brings forth her child kneeling down on the floor of her house. In order to facilitate the birth of the child, the Isneg sometimes place one or more *pulpallóg* (a fungus in the shape of a small round white ball, growing on wet soil) on the body of the future mother. If she experiences unusual difficulty, the *bañsdl* (a thorny woody vine) is used for the same purpose. Occasionally some *kalobbará* (small herbs) are placed over the place of her lungs, lest the latter move. Lung is called *bazá* in Isneg.

A small section of light bamboo (*Schizostachyum mucronatum*), on which a razorlike edge has been cut by means of a headax, is a very appropriate instrument for the severance of the umbilical cord (*pútag*). The afterbirth, to which has been tied some kind of herb (*kaddát*) known to the shaman as an amulet (*tónib*), is placed either on a *duydt* (wooden plate), or in a *bali-luká* (spathe of the betel nut) or a *tázo* (coconut shell), and then buried either far away from the house (at Bolo, etc.), or under the house, immediately below the hearth (at Musimut, Bayag, etc.).

A Bayag man told me that, in case the child was born still enveloped in a membrane, which he said was a very rare occurrence, his people rolled the latter up in a piece of cloth and stowed it away somewhere in one of their trunks; they considered it as a very powerful amulet in business: it would enable the owners to buy many things. He also stated that the newborn babe was bathed immediately in ordinary cold water; in other places, however, and this I consider to be much more general, the child gets its first bath only when it is able to turn itself upon its mat without assistance, or to creep over the floor on hands and knees (*mazaddn*).

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the outside, immediately after the birth of a child. The *ixād* is an instrument that is used to scrape out the meat of the coconut: it mostly consists of a piece of wood fixed upright in a block of the same material, which serves it as a base, and provided at the top with a small tonguelike blade, sometimes more or less in the shape of a half moon, whose edge has been cut out into a row of teeth like a saw. This instrument, according to the Isneg, looks to the *anito* like a frightful dog, at least at the time of the birth of a child, and no spirit will venture to approach the house, as long as that faithful guard remains in position. At Bolo they stretch a *lasiw* (a special kind of vine) crosswise over the entrance. Elsewhere, and this is the most common practice, a spear is stuck in the ground immediately below the ladder, and around the spear are wound two strips of cloth, one red and another one indigo; this contrivance also keeps the *anito* unmercifully at bay. Whether scraper, vine or spear, this guard remains at the door of the house as long as the child is not able to move freely over the floor of the house.

But the ways and means of the spirits are manifold. Although practically no access can be had to the house on account of the spear or the scraper, as the case may be, it might happen that an *anito* uses his evil influence from afar off or approaches the child or its mother by some other way. Therefore to protect the child, a small portion of black wax (*lilin*) is stuck to the hair of the baby, at the whirl somewhere on top of the head; of this, according to the Isneg, the *anito* are much afraid.

The mother, besides inserting some herbs (*kaddáf*), the secret of the shaman, in her headband (*laddón*), never fails to stick a small piece of ginger (*basdún*) on the blunt projection (*sáwit*) at the back of the small knife (*ikó*), which she always carries stuck in her headband. The shape of the *ikó* is the same as that of the ordinary Isneg headax (*aliwá*), but the latter is much larger; the upper part of the blade of both the *aliwá* and the *ikó* is prolonged at the back into a comparatively long dull pin. That piece of ginger protects the mother from the evil influence of the spirit *Talomásim*. Indeed, as long as she has to sleep near the hearth, she is liable to become sick (*matalomásim*) whenever she leaves the house, even in the daytime; the ginger, however, whose smell *Talomásim* cannot stand, keeps the latter at bay, and the young mother reenters the house without becoming *matalomásim*.

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854 When the mother takes her child along, she carries it on her back
 853 in a piece of cloth (addún; see PUBL. CATH. ANTHROP. CONF., v. 1, no. 5, Fig. 52, p. 231), in which the little one takes a sitting position, its feet dangling freely beneath, and its head protruding above. At one side, the addún passes over one of the shoulders of the carrier, mostly the right one, and at the other side, under the opposite arm, its tips being knotted in front; sometimes, although rarely, the addún passes under both arms. In order to give her child the breast, the only thing the mother has to do is to give the whole outfit a little shift, allowing the baby to pass under the left arm toward the front; but even without going to such extremes, a little freedom in the position of the little one will give the latter a chance occasionally to get a few mouthfuls from the left breast of its mother by pushing its head under her left arm. This way of carrying her infant does not hamper the mother in her ordinary work, such as cleaning the field, pounding rice, and so on; besides, her movements will very often serve the child for a swing and rock it to sleep.

854 When the baby becomes a little older it is frequently carried sitting on the hip in a straddling position one foot in front and one at the back (abbayán). An older brother or sister, or some other kind-hearted person occasionally takes the place of the mother and carries the child around in one of the ways just mentioned.

824/ Besides the ordinary precautions that have to be taken to keep the
 821 child from injury, anybody who is carrying a baby around in the
 854 evening should not fail to pick a leaf of tabbán or cogon grass along
 789 the road and tie it to the child's ankle. Then, as soon as they reenter the house, the child should be made touch one of the three stones (taxán) of the hearth, on top if possible; if this were not done the Isneg firmly believe that the little one would get sick sooner or later. Nothing of the kind has to be done, however, if the walk took place in the morning.

854 Incidentally it may be mentioned here that small babies dispense
 301 with all clothing whatsoever. A string to which a few seeds or cowries
 291 (kamusay) have been attached, and which serves it for a bracelet or, more rarely, for a necklace, is considered more than sufficient for the time being, and a small piece of cloth laid under the little one when at rest takes the place of swaddling clothes. The greatest concern of the parents is to keep the child in good health, and the amulets, whether seeds or cowries, will look after that.

854 All rags that are used with newborn babies and which are called dappin (in some places dappán), for instance the cloth that is some-

584 1. The use of musical instruments, which he plays at the house of
832 the girls, usually while lying down in the evening, and which are
594 supposed to have a very soothing influence on the mind of any mem-
[828] ber of the weaker sex. As this is not the place to describe these
instruments at length, I shall merely enumerate them and add a few
of their most outstanding characteristics:

The *kuribów*, a kind of Jew's-harp, entirely made of bamboo, whose
tongue is struck by the finger at its fixed base.

The *aziwán*, another kind of Jew's-harp, partially made of bamboo,
whose metal tongue is moved by a string.

The *balikiñ* or nose flute, which consists of a slender tube of bam-
boo, open at both ends, and provided with holes along its length,
three at one side and one at the other.

584 2. The singing of love songs (*magdaldallán*). This is done in the
832 daytime as well as in the evening, whenever the boy is moved by
533 concupiscence (*makibabbdy*). Such songs, however, are not the ex-
clusive property of the male sex.

584 3. The pronunciation of special terms, otherwise meaningless, that
834 are supposed to have a magical influence on the female sex. These
192 are interwoven in the verses of the song and more or less connected
with the rest of the sentence. Such terms are: *dumaripón*, *dumiñidís*,
dumardarobó, etc.

584 4. The use of perfumes (*banúg*), usually consisting of fragrant
832 herbs or leaves stuck in the headband; although unseen by the girl
302 in the evening, these perfumes forcibly strike her nostrils in an
824 agreeable manner. Any kind of perfume may be used for the pur-
pose, but the most esteemed on such occasions is the *malindáw* (called
indáw at Bolo). The *malindáw* is a small tree covered with spines
and provided with very aromatic leaves. The *Anda* brook near Dangla
flows through a thicket that is renowned for the abundance and
variety of its odoriferous plants: *sildyon* (aromatic leaves, parasitic
on trees), *ditón* (aromatic seeds, a kind of rattan), *malindáw*, etc.

584 Here two spirits occasionally play an important role: both of them
832 are supposed to spread a very agreeable odor, and they sometimes
776 accompany the boys on their courting expeditions, although nothing
is done by the latter to attract them. They are:

Asindáw: a spirit who lives in the hills and always wears very nice
apparel; he is supposed to be visible at times. He merely accom-
panies the boy and through his fragrance influences the girl in behalf
of her lover.

832 with her body. Or he may resort to a stratagem very often used in
789 magic, namely, he may place a drop of the oil in question on one of
171 the girl's footprints. Belief in the efficacy of such actions is not con-
fined to the Isneg. Many Iloko, all of whom were converted to Chris-
tianity in Spanish times, believe that the caudal spine (*burábur*, in
Iloko) of the sting ray thrust into the footprint of a person or in the
place made wet by the latter's urine, invariably causes the death of
the person in question.

832 Sometimes, instead of this ordinary love charm prepared by a
shaman, the boy uses one of his own choice: he tears off a diminutive
section of a thread from one of the fringes at the hind part of his
G-string, and mixes it with the betel (betel nut, leaf of the betel
pepper, and lime) which he prepares for his girl to chew.

832 I have also been able to obtain the names of a few herbs, used for
• 824 love charms, which were known to the boys who gave me this infor-
278 mation. It goes without saying that the shaman is completely left
out in such cases. These herbs, none of which I have been able to
identify as yet, are:

sagúddy: a small herb, the leaves of which are used to win a
girl's love;

tagalomó- and *tañó*:- small herbs, to be mixed with oil, as ex-
plained above;

anímud: a small herb, to be mixed with the betel given to the girl;

añam-ámo: a small herb, placed either on the girl's mat or under
her nose so that she can smell it;

danórán, *tagíamo* and *pa-pámo*: small herbs, the first two growing
on trees. The boy does nothing else but put one or more of them in
his pouch when he goes to court the girls: they merely serve him as
an amulet in order to win his girl's love. *Ámo* in the last two of
these three names, and in the preceding one, means "taming";

dalúpa:- a small herb, to be put secretly in the pouch of a girl
who is "wild" to you.

The use I give for each of the above herbs is simply the one that
was given to me by my informants, and I repeat it exactly as I heard
it, without any addition or explanation on my part.

A Tawit boy gave me the following recipe, which works both ways:
If you want to win the love of a girl who is engaged to some other
boy, gather a few *tuma-dáy* herbs (a creeping herb growing in the
forest), and mix some part of them with the betel nut you hand to

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the girl in question; as soon as she swallows a part of the juice of this mixture, her love for the other boy will have disappeared in its entirety, and you will have taken his place in her affections. 832
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To complete the account I shall add here the means used by a spurned lover in order to revenge himself on the girl who despises his love. The first thing to do is to obtain another kind of herb or mixture of herbs from the compliant shaman. After that the boy pays a last nocturnal visit to the house of the girl who has definitively refused his advances, and throws a part of this charm, which in this case is not a love charm of course, at the girl in question. If it sticks to her body or to her clothes, the Ineg firmly believe that she will conceive through the sole adherence of the herbs thrown at her; in such a case she will forever be scorned by other young men, and the young man's revenge will be complete. If the charm falls down and does not stick to the girl, she will escape unscathed. Similar beliefs are to be found among other Mountain tribes; in certain [71] Kankanay tales, for instance, there is question of a girl who crosses a brook or takes a bath at a place below the one where a boy has thrown his anklet (Kankanay: *bóyat*) into the water: the latter, having floated down, encircled one of the girl's legs, with the inevitable result, not only that she became pregnant at once, but that her being with child became apparent almost immediately.

All the above information concerning the means used by Ineg/24 lovers to win a girl was given to me by young men who had exactly 832 the required age to know everything about the subject from personal experience. From some of the Ineg boys I have also obtained tests 128 giving typical dialogues between a boy and a girl whom he courts. Owing to their content and length and to the necessity of prefacing them with certain linguistic data of a more general nature, they are given as an appendix to the present paper (pp. 261-80).

The Ineg believe that, if the betel (nut, leaf and lime) which a 276 girl prepares for her lover to chew, causes a burning sensation in the 832 latter's mouth, it is a favorable omen for him. In such a case the boy may hope to find his sweetheart ready to accept his suit. So also, if the betel prepared by a lover for his sweetheart burns in the latter's mouth, the girl understands that the boy is really in love with her.

An Ineg lover generally looks for a good omen before going to 787 court the girls, at least when the affair has become serious or when 832 he takes the necessary steps to know definitively whether his feelings 584

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The connection *mazamómân* (or *umuné*) means nothing else but "to go to the house of a prospective bride and ask the parents for the hand of their daughter", which is done by the relatives of the groom.

At my first visit to Namaltugan, one evening I was sitting on the porch of the municipal building, when a whole group of Isneg, men and women, old and young, all in festive attire and seemingly in very high spirits and full of glee, were seen passing along and directing their steps toward Aputan. When I inquired about the reason for this display, my companions told me that these Isneg were going to the house of a prospective bride in order to make arrangements for a possible marriage in the near future; they were intent on the *amómân*.

This gathering, which always takes place in the evening, and in which a large group of relatives of the future husband take part, is really a very important business meeting. Here, after the completion of the *sumpád* ceremony, they discuss the *tádug* or price that has to be paid to the parents of the girl, the number of years during which the young husband will have to stay in the house of his parents-in-law before returning to that of his own parents, and so on. The bride and groom, however, take absolutely no part in the deliberations. In this connection the *sáyó* herb should be mentioned for the powerful influence it may be able to exert here: indeed if one or more members of the *amómân* party take some *sáyó* (a small creeping herb) with them, the girl will most certainly consent to go over to the boy's house immediately after the final ceremony, and the latter will not be obliged to stay even for a short time in the house of his parents-in-law.

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The first part of the *amómân* is known by a special name: *sumpád*, and consists in the formal presentation of the boy's suit by three delegates called *patúgân*. Before dark the *patúgân* start on their way to the house of the girl: one of them is always a young woman, as yet unmarried, and she always carries one, and only one, basket full of native sweets of the variety called *binaladdibád* (*ininapát* in some districts). The *binaladdibád* or *ininapát* consists of *dékat* rice, a kind of very oily rice, sometimes known as "red" rice among Americans residing in the Philippines; the *dékat* is indeed very often red, although there are also several varieties of white *dékat*. The *dékat*, pounded into powder or not, is cooked with coconut milk (expressed from the meat of the coconut) and salt or sugar, and wound in woven

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together side by side in three places, at both ends and in the middle; it corresponds exactly to an ordinary raft or *zdkit*, except of course that it is much shorter. 764

The *tódag* is then laid down near the middle post of one of the longer sides of the house, namely the one opposite to the door (fig. 3), and the body is stretched out upon it at full length, with its head near the wall, arms crossed over the chest, hands flat and fingers extended. In this position the *inndt* has the place of the hearth to one side, but it is comparatively far away from it, as between this and the *tódag* is a certain space, that is usually reserved for women after childbirth; the middle post just referred to is kept immediately at the side of the head of the deceased, between the latter and the hearth. The *inndt*'s pillow consists of the garments of which the deceased has just been stripped, jacket and G-string or tapis, etc.; they are rolled up into a bundle and placed under the head of the dead person. The latter's eyes have been closed; but the mouth may remain open: the lower jaw is never bound up.

After this a few pinnae of a young coconut leaf (*palátañ*) are twisted and formed into a kind of crown, which is placed over the head of the deceased. This crown, which the Isneg call *sinazikaw*, is never absent. Then the whole body is covered with a fine new blanket, which leaves only the crowned head visible. [824]
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If the deceased is a married man, his surviving wife cuts off her tresses at the height of the shoulders (*magganúdd*), and these are tied to the head of the *inndt* and arranged in such a way as to form one with his own hair. [302]

It should be noted once for all that all ceremonies and observances connected with death and burial are the same for men and women, for adults and children, for shamans and ordinary mortals, except for an occasional detail that will be recorded at the proper place. 766

In some special cases the *inndt* is kept in a sitting or squatting posture, this time immediately in front of the central post and facing the door. It is kept sitting on a small bench, with head and waist tied to the post just referred to, and hands resting on the thighs; there is no question of course of any *tódag* or bier.

At other places, as at Bayag, some corpses are kept squatting in a jar, always at the customary place. A large *xúsi* jar (earthenware imported from China), a *tadózan* in the case of an adult, a *dordori* in the case of a child, both very precious to the Isneg, is cut into two almost equal parts, and the body is placed in a squatting position

766 inside its lower half, a certain amount of clothes being pushed between the sides of the jar and the inside in order to keep the latter straight and to prevent it from falling forwards or backwards and from leaning to either side.

But these are exceptional cases and happen only to the very rich (Musimut, Nagbabalayan, etc.) or to persons that stand very high in the estimation of their people (Lettuakan, Bayag, etc.). At Musimut and so on, very rich people may be kept two days like that before they are finally interred. At Lettuakan, a few years ago, Antón, who does not seem to have been either rich or influential, was kept in a sitting posture for three days. At Bayag also, three days usually elapse before the jar is buried with its contents. I believe, however, that formerly such bodies would have been kept from burial for a much longer time. This opinion is based, not only on analogy with similar customs that obtain among other tribes, but also on information received in Apayaw with reference to the time that elapses between death and burial, all of which will be mentioned later on.

764 Among the Ianeg there is no question of preservation of the body
171 either by mummification or by the use of any other means. Abandonment of the confined body under some large rock in the neighborhood of the settlement, which obtains among the Kankanay and the Bontok Igorot, burial in elaborate monuments, as is customary among the rich Kalinga, cremation, etc., are all unknown in Apayaw. The body is simply interred, as will be explained presently.

764 After the death of a person, one of his relatives (all of whom are called *matáyán*) goes to announce (*magba-ba-nán*) the sad news to the absent members of his kindred. As long as the body remains unburied, friends and neighbors come and go, men and women showing in their own way their participation in the sorrow of the bereaved relatives. Women who go to the house of the deceased, usually take along with them some *anulat* (a kind of herb) as a precaution, lest the *balanóbán* of the person they go to mourn for be following them in the future. The *bási* that is abundantly distributed on such occasions, proves a very strong attraction to some of the women, and, in case the deceased was a man of means, the pigs that are slaughtered are also a powerful incentive and inevitably induce our Ianeg to flock to the house of the dead (*makizánat* or *meparinanáy*) and participate in the ceremonies connected with mourning. No real sacrifices (*pildáp*, etc.), however, are offered, and no *mazonito* is per-

• [824]
[751]

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Some tobacco, or some of the ingredients used in the chewing of betel nut (betel nut, leaves of the betel pepper, and lime), according to the former habits of the deceased.

To these may be added:

A bottle of *bási*;

One or more spears;

One or more shields;

Some coins;

Some favorite musical instrument of the deceased; etc.

One of the following objects is also usually present, and, in the case of a rich man, all of them:

A *sazabán* (string of beads worn around the head);

A string of beads (worn around the neck);

A *xúsi* jar containing some *bási* (in which case there is no bottle of *bási*).

Everything is placed inside the coffin, the *xúsi* excepted, which is buried in the hole especially dug for it.

These objects, even though some of them are very precious in the eyes of the Ineg, are never interfered with; they always remain where they are. The desecration of a grave by robbers or other malefactors is something unknown in Apayaw.

Sometimes it happens that an ill-intentioned person (never one of the relatives), probably moved by a desire for revenge, when unobserved, stealthily places some herbs in the coffin, alongside the body. He does this with the purpose of forcing the body to leave its abode at night in the shape of a *balanóbán*, and to roam around playing havoc among the chickens of the neighbors.

Before the body is placed in the grave, the bottom of the latter is strewn with ashes, obtained by burning an *anasá*, which is a kind of raincoat made of palm leaves. This ceremony is supposed to serve a double purpose: the raincoat will render good service to the deceased in the other world, and the ashes will prevent the dead body, either from leaving its grave in the shape of a *balanóbán* or ghost, or at least from frightening the neighbors.

Lest the *balanóbán* scare the relatives of the deceased or the women of the neighborhood who daily repair to their work, the Ineg usually put some *takkóg* vines inside the coffin, alongside the body. The *takkóg* is a schizaeaceous fern (*Lygodium* sp.), which differs from

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824 the *lito* (also *Lygodium* sp.) used for the manufacture of basketry, in the smaller size of its leaves and the brittleness of its rachis.

764
824 After all these rites have been duly observed, the body is lowered into its final abode. In order to do this, the Isneg tie the coffin with strips of *báno* (core of the rattan), which are rather brittle and never used when something has to be tied in a durable way. It now depends on the wishes of the nearest surviving relative, the husband or wife, the father or mother, a child, as the case may be, whether a lid has to be placed over the coffin or the body has to be left uncovered and the lid dispensed with. In case the body was kept squatting in the lower half of a jar, the other half is now placed over it, and the opening on top is closed with a plate (earthenware imported from China).

Then the grave is filled up with the earth that was taken out by the gravediggers, and the old basket that was used to extract the loose earth at the time of digging is placed on top. No mound is erected over the grave; the ground above is simply kept level with the surrounding ground.

Here follows the description of what is placed on and over the tomb: a few things immediately after the funeral, others either at the same time or the next day, according to the wishes of the people in charge or to the presence or absence of the materials in question at the time of burial.

824 There are placed on the grave immediately after the funeral: Several pinnae of a young coconut leaf, sometimes twisted into different fantastic shapes, roughly imitating those of birds, dogs, stars, balls, etc.; also some stumps of cigars, partly burned: all these to keep away *Bowá* (by some called *Alibowá*), a spirit who feeds on dead bodies;

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823 In some places a spear is stuck in the tomb: this is done in order to prevent the spirit *Wirwár* from stealing and devouring the body; Then ingredients for chewing betel nut, namely: one or more betel nuts or some sections of a betel nut, leaves of the betel pepper, some lime. The lime is placed there more especially with the purpose of preventing the body from leaving its grave in the shape of a *bala-sóbán*; in this way the lime supplements the magic power of the *takkág* and of the ashes of the burned raincoat, both of them mentioned before.

Further adornment, put in place either immediately after the funeral or, more commonly, the next day:

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After the death of one of their relatives, the Isneg also *lapatán* or taboo some of the coconut trees that belonged to the deceased. Such trees are easily recognizable, as one always finds a certain quantity of strips of bamboo or of thorny branches or of both, tied all around the tree, at the height of one's shoulders. I know of a couple of Iloko teachers who, knowing nothing about this custom, climbed a tabooed coconut tree, in order to drop down some of the fruits and eat them; unfortunately they were caught by the owners and got free only after the payment of a heavy fine. If they had been natives of the district, they would not have escaped so easily, although I doubt very much if an Isneg would ever dare break such a taboo.

Coconuts that have been gathered at the time of the owner's death are also declared taboo, and nobody is allowed to partake of them until the time of the *obóbát*; if no such ceremony takes place (which must be a rare contingency) the fruits are left to decay. At the time of the *obóbát*, however, they are declared *inúkas* or free, and everybody is allowed to consume them.

The following are the *lapát* or taboos that have to do with fishing:

1. It is usually forbidden to catch fish in that part of the river or brook that passes near the settlement in which a person died. This taboo is lifted only at the time of the *obóbát*. The tabooed section, which is said to be *mabalsiyán*, is marked off at both ends by green leafy canes of bamboo grass (*Miscanthus sinensis*) stuck in the bottom of the river or brook.

2. If the relatives of the deceased claim the exclusive right of fishing in a certain part of a river or brook, this section or *anáwan* remains tabooed until the *obóbát* or completion of the mourning period.

It is forbidden to work on two days, namely on the second day after the funeral, the *taribukáy*, and on the day following the *obóbát* ceremony. This obligatory rest is called *úlin*, and any work done on such a day is considered useless and inevitably subject to being completely spoiled.

A widow or widower is forbidden to visit the relatives of the deceased husband or wife for the whole period that elapses between burial and *obóbát*. Infringement of this taboo would cause the whole body of the culprit to swell up. The same punishment would be inflicted on a widow or widower who would dare eat mushrooms (*lóón*) or *úbud* (young shoots of some palm trees, as the *anibón* or fishtail palm, etc.).

of the hand crosses the palm from one side to the other continuously⁷³⁵ and without interruption; is absolutely unable to raise a large amount⁷³⁷ of rice.*

Nobody, however, should feel dismayed, as the Isneg possess a cure⁷³⁵ even for the direst poverty. It consists in having recourse to the use⁷³⁴ of a very powerful amulet, which has been designed most especially⁷³⁷ for the needy by the ever merciful spirits, namely the *taxa-rút*, a small herb that grows in the forest. The only question is to know it and to find it.

As will be made plain in the course of this paper, the Isneg firmly⁴⁶² believe in a strict division of labor.⁷³⁸ Each sex has its own work to do, and generally no member of the opposite sex would dare encroach upon this age-long custom. Nevertheless there are a few male individuals who form an exception to this rule: these are the *täyyén* and the *takováñ*. The *täyyén* (pronounced *täyyén* in Bolo) do not know how to handle a hatchet, while, on the other hand, they use a woman's *ikó*-knife as easily as if it were a tool specifically their own; even in their gait, they take over everything that is characteristic of woman. The *takováñ* dress like women and perform all kinds of work usually done by the latter: they plant, weed and pound rice as well as the most experienced member of the fair sex. But, I repeat it, these are exceptions.

No true Isneg man goes to work without his headaxe or *aliwó*⁴¹² usually stuck in his G-string from beneath, at one side, with the helve uppermost.² This is his constant companion and also the sole tool he needs when at work in the field. It will not be amiss to give here a detailed description of the *aliwó* of the Isneg.

The headaxe or *aliwó* consists of a kind of hatchet with a very broad blade and a comparatively thin long helve (*alupitan*).

The helve is made of hard wood furnished by several trees that grow all through the Isneg country, for instance the *taggdy* (a kind of molave), the *basílat*, the *kanámáy* (a kind of ebony), etc. The end of the helve, opposite to the head in which the blade is fixed, is called *agwady*. The blade is attached to the helve by means of a tang or spike (*otáni*) that fits into the head of the helve, which is surrounded by a comparatively long iron ring (*palábo* or *paraddól*).

*The *rappód* also easily resorts to murder: he is a dangerous person.

² Cf. Publ. Cath. Anthropol. Conf., v. 1, no. 3, Dress and Adornment in the Mountain Province of Luzon, Philippine Islands, p. 217. fig. 36.

787 intricate and obviously of rather rare occurrence: this is probably the
825 reason why such an unusual way of flying has rendered it suspicious to the natives. It happens like this: the bird flies first from right to left, and then from left to right, in front of the person who is on its way to the field; after that it flies first from front to rear, and then from rear to front, at the right-hand side. This fourfold movement of the *labág*-bird is called *magsúnit*.

If, after having begun (*sumikáp*, "to start work") any kind of work in the field, you happen to see a buzzard (*bukkáw*) for the first time, or a rat (*butít*) any time, stop then and there, return home and stay here for the rest of the day. As may be seen by the above statement, there is a considerable difference between the two: indeed, a *bukkáw* or buzzard sends you home only when it is seen for the first time, while a rat keeps you idle for a day whenever it makes an appearance.

796 There are a few other things of importance, which it is very useful
753 for the Isneg to know.

For instance, if you happen to meet the spirit (*Gabburá*) on your way to work and he jumps out in front of you, you may be sure that you will become ill in the near future. Then it is up to you to take your precautions as soon as you come back home.

The influence of the spirit *Baróyan* is also very nefarious: should he accompany you on your way, you will be unable to perform anything worth while and your body will be aching all over; in some cases he has even caused people to become completely mad.

784 Never walk over the first plant or seed which you confided to the soil, whether it be rice or tobacco or anything else, because, if you are careless in this respect, not a single plant will grow in that particular field or garden of yours.

When you reach home, after having planted (*magmúla*, *mulda*) something, never take hold of a *báña*¹⁰ in such a way as to insert your hand or your fingers (*magkuwól*). When it is absolutely necessary to take up a *báña*, be careful to touch it only at the outside, otherwise whatever you have planted will be consumed sooner or later by wild animals.

824 An Isneg who wants to become skilled in planting (*aragmúla*) must
781 try as much as possible to observe what follows:

¹⁰ An earthen jar used for cooking rice, etc.

When you have to start a certain work and want it finished quickly, go and look for a little herb, called *tagalárat* in Bayag: it is about five or six inches tall, has comparatively long leaves, and grows almost anywhere. After you have found it, take it along and put it down somewhere near the place where you begin working: in less than no time you will be through with everything. 824
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In order to assure the healthy growth of any kind of plant, before you start sowing or planting, stick some part of a *litár* in the ground somewhere at the place where you begin. The stem and the leaves of the *litár*, which is a climbing plant, are both of the same color: they are uniformly green.

When your plants have taken root (*naggamít*), or, which amounts to the same, if they live (*nabiyág*), it is the farmer's duty to see that they become strong. The surest way to obtain such a result is to go and look for a herb, called *tagabilag* at Bayag, and to attach it to one of the plants in question. It causes the whole field or garden to be covered with the most luxuriant vegetation and to produce a growth that can weather almost any storm. The *tagabilag* may be found all over the district: it is rather tall, some ten inches, and bears white flowers and red fruits.

Another herb, called *gátud* at Bayag, of the same habitat as the preceding, but rather low, may be used with profit in connection with the gathering of crops. It should be tied to one of the plants that have to be reaped, and if nothing untoward intervenes, the farmer may rest assured that his soil will yield a most bountiful harvest.

To avoid the occurrence of landslides, which often play havoc not only with plantations, but with dwellings and granaries as well, the Isneg plant *nagbáyugán* on or near the spot they want to protect. One single plant is sufficient, and it is not necessary to have it multiply. The *nagbáyugán* is a stout herb, usually some two feet tall: it spreads a very agreeable odor, has comparatively long leaves, and, according to the natives, bears no flowers. 731
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But the enemies of a man's fields and gardens are numerous and powerful: some of them are able to destroy in less than one hour what it has taken you weeks and months to build up. Therefore all Isneg farmers should know who they are and make a thorough study of all the means at their disposal for combating them and protecting the fruit of their labor. The dangers that threaten the life or growth of any particular kind of plant will be treated in their proper place. 824

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A shaman, for instance, who envies the result of your labor, may¹⁸⁷ pronounce the following words:

"*Napiyá no lamásan náyá kalkaltón*" (It would be good if the *kalkaltón* ate it), and these insects will start destroying everything, cutting down not only the tender stalk of the rice, but even the sturdy petioles of the taro.

Or any ill-intentioned person may take it into its head to throw¹⁸⁴ *anías*-herbs into your fields or gardens. The *anías* is a very low herb¹⁸⁹ that grows almost in any place, and looks very innocuous; but if it touches any of your plants, these will soon be devoured by a whole legion of rats, wild boars, and the rest. Indeed, this herb proves such a strong attraction to them that the Ineg put it on their *bali*-traps in order to cause wild boars to come along and be caught.

One might easily become disheartened when seeing how easy it is for an evil-minded person to cause the destruction of a field that is most promising; but this should not be so, because you must always remember that the good and kind-hearted spirits have provided you with a remedy for every evil. And so, if you see that there is something wrong with your farm, go and gather *bali*-, a kind of woody vine that grows in the forest and is covered all around with thorns that face the roots. As soon as any part of this vine is placed in your field, it immediately wards off all danger and transfers the latter to the farm of your neighbor. Then it is up to the latter to look out for himself. The same *bali*- has also the virtue to save you from being poisoned: it merely transfers the danger to somebody else.

All this goes to show that the career of an Ineg farmer is not as²⁴¹ easy as it looks. Nevertheless he does not seem to mind, and he continues to live a care-free life. In Apayaw, the soil is usually fertile; plots that are exceptionally bad are easily detected by the presence of *anamág*-ferns, which thrive only on ground that is absolutely useless; and rainfall is abundant. Therefore the Ineg is able to raise almost any kind of plants at the expenditure of a minimum of exertion. Should incantations and evil imps haunt him, he has simple means to counteract their influence: his own magical practices and the help of the good spirits, his protectors. One thing, however, is of capital importance, namely his yearly rice crop; if it fails him, ruin stares him in the face.

And so we have come to the most important part of this treatise: rice.

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the latter being usually the most plentiful, over a small space called *tálon*. This *tálon* is generally not much larger than one square yard, and so the first day's work is finished within a comparatively short time. 243

Besides the observances that are usual for all kinds of work, and which have been mentioned previously, here are a few practices that are peculiar to the *mañumá* (clearing), which it is good for the Isneg to heed. And so, before beginning to cut anything, he should perform the ceremony called *sapsapó*. This consists in strewing a certain amount of ashes, brought along for this purpose, first to the left, then to the right, and finally behind his back, in order to avoid, if not the approach, at least the bites of mosquitoes for the entire duration of the *mañumá*. Besides, if he is a careful man, he will have provided himself with one or more of the following: *alimbódo*, *anaglaw*, *talésáy*. The *alimbódo* is a kind of herb that keeps you from any kind of harm, from anything that might hurt you, provided it be placed at the spot where you begin your work. The *anaglaw* is a low herb with comparatively long leaves, that grows all over the district, and is put down at the same place as the preceding, for the benefit of the worker and his *kómán*. The *talésáy* also is a small herb, and serves the same purpose as the *anaglaw*, but it is found only in forested areas. At the same time the following prayer may be recited. The text was given me by *Yadán* from Nagbabalayan (O dialect, K branch). 789 824 782

Dínakami palpalagmán kiyá sipát náyá inammáyán (Do not disobey us at the clearing of the rice field).

Now pronounce the word *óka* or *póka*, and begin attacking the bushes. This word should be pronounced every day before the first stroke of the hatchet, until the whole field is cleared. Its pronunciation will help you to go up the slope in a lively way and to finish the work quickly. Should somebody come along and pronounce the same word, while you are busy cutting the bushes, its pronunciation will have the same effect, making the work easy for you. 243 461

The next day, that is the day after the *tálon* has been cleared, the Isneg *xumowán*, which means that he stays at home and does nothing: he makes it a holiday (*áilin*). Woe to him if he infringes this taboo. What would befall him, nobody really knows, as it has never happened yet that this holiday was not kept: no Isneg willfully disobeys any of the customs of his people, and this special taboo is known by everybody. 243 529

243 The third day, or the next day after the enforced idleness just mentioned, is called *sarsár*. Now the Isneg *manarsár*, which means that he begins work in earnest, starting for his field early in the morning.

The farmer begins clearing his field at the lower edge (*atád*), near the *tálon*, or small patch cleared two days previously, and gradually climbs up the slope, until he reaches the upper edge (*arpád*). Should the field be level, the Isneg call this work *mazónut* instead of *mañumá*. While cutting the grasses, he causes them to fall to the left or to the right, but always backwards, that is toward the *atád* or lower edge, so that they will not interfere with his subsequent work. All large trees are left standing, nothing is torn down but what can be cut either at one stroke of the hatchet (*magtaggád*, *taggádn*), or at least with little difficulty, so as not to hinder considerably the progress of the work. Usually in this kind of work the Isneg has two hatchets in his possession, the second one or *takám* being used in case the first one becomes dull.

[76] The spirit that is to be feared more than any other at this time of the year, is *Pagpazasápat*, a killer of men at the time of the *mañumá*.

An accident that may easily befall the Isneg at this juncture is the snapping of the helve of his *aliwá* at its junction with the blade, inside the iron ring or *palábo*. In this case the wielder of the hatchet is said to *magpaníñud* and the hatchet itself is *napiñudn*. Should such a catastrophe (and it is no exaggeration to call it by that name) occur on the day of the *sarsár*, the farmer is obliged to abandon the whole business and begin all over again, going in search of another field, observing the omen, cutting the *tálon* or first patch, *zumowdsí* or resting the next day, and so on. But this is not obligatory if the same accident happens on some other day after the *sarsár*, and not without reason: otherwise he might be obliged to clear fields until doomsday, as the helve of an Isneg hatchet, if used more or less carelessly, is apt to break very easily at this point, the thinned fork of the helve being very brittle at the place where the iron tang is fixed into it. This also may be a practical reason for leaving comparatively large trees intact for the time being.

243 When clearing a patch of ground that has been left untouched for
824 several years, the Isneg is liable to come across all kinds of plants. Whereas his principal aim is to make the work progress as quickly and smoothly as possible, and to cut down whatever comes in his way, the

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larger trees excepted, nevertheless there are a few objects about which he should be extremely careful. 243
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First of all we have the *amitdl*, a kind of woody vine with elongated leaves, that may be found in almost any brake or bushy plot of ground. In case the Isneg comes upon it while busy clearing his field, he should stop immediately, go home, and stay there all through the next day, making the latter a *álin* or holiday. This *amitdl* is by far the worst of all, as it retards the progress of the work considerably; others are not so bad.

The *lapdt álag*, for instance, a kind of tree usually growing to a considerable size if left to thrive without interruption, must not be cut down in the *kómán* under any pretext whatsoever, because if the Isneg fails to heed this prohibition, the rats will inevitably destroy the rice that might happen to grow on this field. The *lapdt álag* is easily noticeable by its absence of branches, all leaves growing directly on the trunk, and by its large leaves which measure approximately fifteen by five inches.

Then there is the *lúbo*-, a herbaceous vine that grows in forested areas: not only must it remain untouched, but the place where it grows should be excluded at any price from the *kómán* or rice field, otherwise a member of the owner's family will die before the end of the season. Consequently the *lúbo*- often obliges the farmer to alter completely the shape of his *kómán*, so as to keep the ground on which it grows at the outside of his future rice field. In some districts the same nefarious influence is attributed to a herbaceous vine which the natives call *bitdl*, but which is probably the same as the *lúbo*:- the name *bitdl* may have been given to it on account of the properties of the *bitdl*-knot of vines, which will be described presently.

Another taboo has to do with the *pirdy*-instrument which the farmer is absolutely forbidden to carry or play in the field, for the whole time that elapses between the *sarsdr* and the end of the harvest. Even a stranger who happens to have a *pirdy* on his person, when entering the field, must be warned not to play it; usually, however, he will know about the prohibition without needing a warning. The reason of this taboo is that the sound of the *pirdy* attracts the birds and causes them invariably to come and ravage the field before the end of the harvest. This *pirdy* (fig. 3) consists of a small piece of bamboo in which two parallel slits have been cut lengthwise, without entirely severing the intervening portion from its adjacent parts; this central part is then lifted up by means of a small stick, that has been slid 243
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[534] under it and that produces a slight sound when pinched on either end.
243 It is also absolutely forbidden to pare one's nails in a new-made
784 *kóman*.

243 A very favorable omen is the meeting of a nest of *amsi-* in the future
825 rice field. The *amsi-* is a stinging medium-sized red-and-black ant,
787 very thin between thorax and abdomen. Such a find forebodes the
lusty growth of rice and of all plants that may subsequently be raised
in this field.

Another happening that is eagerly looked for is the finding of a
jungle fowl's nest. At such an occurrence all work is momentarily
stopped and the only concern of the Isneg is to count the number of
eggs it contains, each egg presaging the harvest of one hundred bundles
of rice.

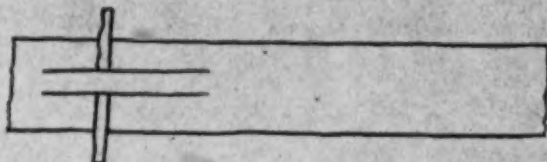


FIG. 3. *Piráy*.

243 When the day's work is over, the Isneg goes home to enjoy a well-
262 deserved rest. Here, however, he should be careful, when partaking
of a meal, not to eat the crust of the rice (*assip*), that is, the rice
that is next to the pot and has become brown and hardened, because,
if he did so, the palay on the field would *umsip*, which means that it
would refuse to grow after having sprung up lustily, and would then
wither and become yellow and die. This taboo, however, has to be
observed only at the beginning of the *mañumá* or clearing of the field.

243 On subsequent journeys to the field for the purpose of continuing
824 the clearing of the ground, it may happen that one sees along the road
a *bitál* (also called *bitál* and *binitulán*), that is: a cluster of vines or
rather a considerable amount of strong vines that have become so
intertwined as to form a huge knot. This knot could not have been
there before, as it could not have escaped observation, so it is only
reasonable to conclude that it has formed after the *mañumá* has been
started. In this case the Isneg should retrace his steps and make that
day a holiday (*áilín*). If met in the rice field itself, however, such a
knot may remain unheeded, as it has not the slightest influence on the
man and his *kóman*.

And so, after several days of hard work, perhaps interrupted occasionally by a holiday, in order to follow the rules laid down by his ancestors and the spirits, the Isneg finally reaches the upper end of his field, the *arpád*. Once there, he has to leave untouched a small section of his intended rice field, usually about one square yard, the *nañarpadán*. Later on, after a resting period of from three to five days, he is allowed to go and clear it with the rest (*pammalinán*, "to finish, to end").

The field is now *inumdá*, which means that all the grasses, shrubs, canes of bamboo grass, saplings, etc. have been cut down: the first important work is done. It is for the sun now to do its part by drying up everything as soon as possible, man being a mere looker-on. This does not mean, however, that nothing has to be done before there is an opportunity for burning the *kómán*.

First of all, the farmer makes a survey of the *kómán* that is now in the *inumdá*-state, carefully cutting down in the meanwhile anything that might have been overlooked, most especially at the center, the sides being of less importance: this is called *manábal*, a term that is also used for the finishing touch given by a woman to the rice field after it has been weeded.

After this comes the *tádaw* or the cutting down of all the branches of the trees that have been left standing in the field. The *lapát silag* mentioned before forms really no exception to this rule, as it has no branches. The *taximmatón* or sign for this work, which is usually performed some time in March, is the blooming of the *tabláá* or coral tree, referred to under the *taximmatón* of the preceding work, the *mañumdá*. Another sign for the beginning of the *tádaw* is the *lumbá*, a tree whose flowers are much sought after by honeybees: when the *lumbá* begins to bear fruit, the Isneg knows that it is the *agtátádaw* or time for lopping the trees in his *inumdá*.

This also, of course, is a man's work; but, because most all Isneg are able to climb any kind of tree, the work is not considered hard provided there are a couple of good sharp hatchets ready at hand. The *kumilá*-tree, however, is usually left with its branches intact, because the boughs are very brittle and it is rather dangerous to climb the tree and cut them; but nothing prevents the Isneg from cutting it down in its entirety, at the time of the *mañumdá*, provided it be not too large. The *kumilá* is very straight and its bark is fragrant; it rarely grows very thick, although it may reach a great height. In Dangla,

243 A part of the fruit and leaf of the lemon;

782 A few seeds of *laniá* or sesame: these seeds have a peculiar
[22] aptitude for "teaching" the rice how to grow vigorously;

A seed of *oldiyátan*, in order to guard the spirit of the rice, lest it leave the rice and the ears become empty. The *oldiyátan* is a forest tree with a thorny stem and round seeds that are used for toys;

A piece of sedoary or rhizome of *kannig* (*Curcuma zedoaria* [Berg.] Rosc.), which grows wild;

[303] A piece of galangale or rhizome of *disól* (*Kaempferia galanga*, L.), cut into small pieces. This plant is often cultivated, as old women use it for perfume;

Some pudding made from *madiliya*-rice, mentioned before.

All these are amulets (*tánib*) that insure the nice growth of the palay.

243 The seeds of this *la-bá* are now kept apart, and they will be planted in the field before any other ones.

Then the work of shelling goes on and, whenever there is a sufficient amount of *aggi*-, it is transferred to a bamboo tube, called *agaggikán* like the old mat itself. The term *agaggikán* consists of the stem *aggi*- and the locative combination *ag...án*: when referring to the mat, it means "the place where the woman *mazaggi*- or shells rice"; when applied to the bamboo tube, it means "the place of the *aggi*-". In some localities, instead of using a bamboo tube, the Isneg wrap the seeds in the leaves of the *asipúlo* or *sipúlo*: a forest tree with very large round leaves; its bark is sometimes used for chewing with the betel nut.

When the time of planting (*tognó*) draws near, the Isneg puts the finishing touch to the cleaning of his *kóman*. Some of the plants that had been cut during the *ánúmá* or clearing, have sprung up again (*riumsi*-), after the field was burnt. And so the man takes his hatchet and the woman her *paló*- (hoe), which will be described presently, and proceed to the field in order to clean everything thoroughly before the planting is begun: this final preparation is called *maggatari-si*- (*tari-si*- means: young shoot of plants in general).

[462] For the planting or *tognó* (a term used for rice and Indian corn, not for beans, etc.), which is the exclusive work of the women, the latter need a special implement, namely a dibble.

412 Here I shall give the description of the aforementioned *paló*- (hoe) and of the two kinds of dibble used for planting rice, the *sagurá*- and the *zádañ*.

251 Young banana leaves (*adón*) are used very extensively for wrapping
245 purposes, especially when things have to be kept fresh, for instance
cooked rice, several kinds of viands, etc.

The men cut down (*lappadán*, *maglappád*) the leaves with the *alíed*
(hatchet) and gather (*manaxidón*) them.

Dry banana leaves (*arupdt*) are used for wrapping all kinds of
small objects.

245 A banana plantation where the leaves are all withered, is supposed
776 to be the abode of the spirit *Aléxán*. For the rest, no harm is done,
as she never attempts to destroy the fruits.

6. YAMS

244 The origin of yams or *úbi* (*Dioscorea alata*, L., *D. pentaphylla*, L.,
973 etc.) is authenticated among the Isneg by the following stories:

539 Ucil from Bolo (O dialect, Main branch) told me this:
824

Ya nonónná úa úbi

The first yam

*Kitó inumbét dató dódón kiddí itó nōnná úa alxár awánda kanó
úa anán dató tólāy ta amminán dató dódón. / Kanó awánda úa anán
kitó mamiminda úa natáy ináru-da ya anóna-da sēda úa anán áy
imúlada to tabbit nató ababbín. / Ay to ya nagbalín ka úbi to ya
nonónná úa úbi.*

When the locusts came here in former days, the people, it is said,
had nothing to eat, as the locusts consumed everything. / And when
they had nothing to eat, so they would all be dead, they took out a
part of their children's bodies, and they ate it, and they planted the
flesh of the child. / And that became a yam: that is the first yam.

Another man related to me a similar story with reference to the
puddig-yam: it is very large, and its skin is very red; it looks as if
it were bleeding. On a certain day, a mother took her babe as soon
as it was born and cut it into pieces, which she buried in the ground.
After a while they grew, and when the woman dug them up, they had
become *puddig-yams*. She cooked them, ate them, and found them
to be a savory kind of food.

A different story is woven around the *dinampáyán*, a kind of *lo-tó*
(*Dioscorea fasciculata*, Roxb. and *D. aculeata*, L.). The *lo-tó* are
small yams, whose meat is yellowish or white and very soft; their
skin is thin and whitish or brown, and is easily peeled off when cooked;
their vines and leaves are thorny. Formerly all *lo-tó* were soft

stones. A little child having stepped on one of them, the latter took the shape of a small foot: that is the reason why the *dinampáydn* are more or less footlike and have small projections like toes. 539 8240 244 773

In Isneg, *úbi* is the general name for all yams, and *lo-tó* is the general name for several kinds of soft yams whose skin is white or whitish. In Iloko, *úbi* refers only to one kind of yams (*Dioscorea alata*, L.), and *tugi* is the Iloko equivalent of the Isneg *lo-tó*. In Kankanay, *tugi* is the sweet potato. 244

Besides the *paddig* (*úbi*) and the *dinampáydn* (*lo-tó*), the Isneg cultivate the following varieties (belonging to different species of *Dioscorea*) of *úbi*:

The *aniñgd̄t*: A kind of yam with purplish skin.

The *baraón*: A kind of yam almost perfectly globose.

The *bisdyon̄t*: A kind of yam with purplish skin, very long and crooked.

The *kamáñag*: A kind of yam very similar to the *Dioscorea batatas*, Dene., but with a different vine.

The *dampandn*: A kind of *lo-tó* with a very pubescent skin, the most esteemed of all.

The *pirdy*: A kind of *lo-tó* with a very thin skin.

The *marirag*: A kind of wild yam, with comparatively small vines, growing along brooks. The Isneg improve it by cultivation. Perhaps *Dioscorea batatas*, Dene.

Whereas most other tribes cultivate yams rather sparingly, the Isneg plant them much more extensively than anything else, rice excepted. In this they resemble the Batan, whose staple food is the yam: rice, however, is not grown by them.

It takes yams one year to develop their tubers; they may be planted at any time.

Before planting *lo-tó*, the Isneg wash the parts that will be confided to the soil, with *babbalowan*-vines cut into pieces and soaked in the juice of the sugar cane. This is done to ensure their sweetness. The *babbalowan* is a herbaceous vine with yellow flowers and with leaves that resemble those of the *úbi*; it grows in gardens planted with *lo-tó*.

When they want to plant yams (*magbaló*; sometimes, *magturdg*, which is said of both planting taro and planting yams), the first thing they do is to cut a certain quantity of tubers into pieces (*maxóru*- or *manúru*-). Then holes are bored in the ground by means of a *paló*- (hoe) or a dibble (the *saguró* or the *ityutunó*; the latter being called *ibabaló* when used for planting yams). Some ashes are strewn in each

244 hole, and the latter is provided with one part of a yam; after that the hole is filled up with earth. Almost any part of a yam, even parings, may be used for planting: the center, however, and the entire lower part are useless. In the case of *lo-tó*, usually the upper half of the tuber is thrust into the hole.

When the first yam has been planted and the hole duly filled up, the Isneg cover it with the half of a coconut shell, whose center has been cut out. No such precaution is taken with the subsequent ones.

244
789 When the vines die, this is a sure sign that it is time to dig up the tubers (*magsikaw*; sometimes: *magtaggáp*, also said of gathering taro rhizomes). To cause the yams to last long, the Isneg woman places *takkdg Unán*¹ next to the first yam she meets, when starting her work, and leaves the latter in the field: a practice similar to the one that is observed at the gathering of taro rhizomes. In the same way, if the first yam that is dug up, happens to be a small one, not a single large one will be found that day; therefore, it is best to stop the work and go home: the next day may bring better luck.

The number of yams varies from plant to plant, but it never exceeds five.

7. OTHER PRODUCTS OF THE ISNEG GARDEN

241 Here follows a brief enumeration of the vegetables (*tarilpá*) and
● 824 other plants that are raised in the *kadánan* of the Isneg.

262 The *antó*- (*Vigna sinensis* [L.] Endl.), cowpea. Its green pods (*bisi*-), dried seeds (*bokál*), and young shoots (*otóni*) are used for vegetables.

The *itab*, *ábq*s or *tañíni* (*Phaseolus lunatus*, L.), Lima bean.

The *ampilán* (*Dolichos lablab*, L.). Its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *baláton* (*Phaseolus radiatus*, L.), green gram.

The *pallá*, *pallán* or *pallát* (*Psophocarpus tetragonolobus* [L.] DC.), asparagus bean. Its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *maséti* (*Cajanus cajan* [L.] Merr.), pigeon pea.

The *siñkamós* (*Pachyrrhizus erosus* [L.] Urb.), turnip bean or yam bean. Cultivated for its fleshy roots; its green pods are used for vegetables.

The *amaní* (*Arachis hypogaea*, L.), peanut.

The *karabása* (sometimes wrongly called *kalabása* or *labása*; from the Spanish *calabaza*), (*Cucurbita pepo*, L.), squash or pumpkin. Its

¹[a type of vine, see p. 337. -- Analyst]

fruits (*bisi-*), male flowers (*bu-gá-*), and young shoots (*rañaw*) are used for vegetables. 249
824

The *tabuñaw* (*Lagenaria leucantha* [Lam.] Rusby); bottle gourd especially the Hercules'-club. Its fruits (*bisi-*) and young shoots (*rañaw*) are used for vegetables. Several varieties of bottle gourd are cultivated by the Isneg: 262
244
824
415

The *kandól*, dipper gourd.

The *bakóba-*, calabash. Universally used for storing rice.

The *lupidy*: A kind of huge calabash.

The *tabdyad*: A kind of small white calabash. Sometimes used for storing rice.

The *busiñán*: A kind of very small calabash. Universally used for storing lime.

The *bakuraw*. Its young shoots are glabrous.

The *kabatiti* (*Luffa cylindrica*, Roem.). Its fruits (*bisi-*) are used for vegetables. The variety with ribbed fruits is called *balidan*. 241
824

The *pariyá* (*Momordica charantia*, L.). Its fruits and young shoots are used for vegetables. 262

The *tankúy* (*Benincasa hispida* [Thunb.] Cogn.). Its fruits are used for vegetables.

The *káimun* (*Cucumis sativus*, L.), cucumber.

The *túpá-* (*Citrullus vulgaris* [L.] Schrad.), watermelon.

The *kamát* or *amákis* (from the Spanish *tomates*), (*Lycopersicon esculentum*, Mill.), tomato. The variety with small globose fruits.

The *tarón* (*Solanum melongena*, L.), eggplant.

The *amsí* (*Solanum nigrum*, L.), nightshade. Its young leaves are used for vegetables.

The *sili*, a general name for the following plants:

The *to-rán* (*Capsicum frutescens*, L.), chile or spur pepper. Its young leaves (*pat-ó-*) are used for vegetables, and its small fruits for condiments. [263]

The *amiliñ*, a variety of the preceding, with somewhat larger fruits.

The *zappó-* (*Capsicum annum*, L.), green pepper. Its young leaves (*pat-ó-*) and fruits (*bisi-*) are used for vegetables.

The *kambón*, perhaps *Solanum crassipetalum*, Wall. Its large fruits are used for vegetables.

The *salúyut* or *salúyaw* (*Corchorus olitorius*, L.), jute or Jews' mallow. Its leaves are used for vegetables.

24/ The *laniás* (*Sesamum orientale*, L.), sesame or benne. Cultivated
● 824 for its seeds (*bokál*).

262 The *agláy* (*Coix lachryma-jobi*, L.), Job's-tears. A variety with
edible young capsules that are much elongated.

The *naíná*, *bannuwón* or *sábug* (*Setaria italica*, Beauv.), Italian
millet. It is considered as good luck to find seeds (*bokál*) with two
or three (instead of one) eyes or hila.

The *barindt* (*Andropogon sorghum* [L.] Brot.), sorghum.

The *kumáyo* (*Manihot utilisima*, Pohl.), cassava, manioc or
tapioca plant.

The *lampákan*, a plant resembling the taro. Its branchy rhizome
is edible.

The *baxán*, probably *Tacca* sp. Cultivated for its edible roots.

The *basán* (*Zingiber officinale*, Rose.), ginger.

The *sagó* (*Maranta arundinacea*, L.), arrowroot.

The *lasoná* (*Allium cepa*, L.), onion.

[263] The *báwan* (*Allium sativum*, L.), garlic.

[283] The *piniyá* or *apiniyá* (from the Spanish *piña*), (*Ananassa sativa*,
Lindl.), pineapple. The fibres of its leaves are used for strings. Its
suckers (one on top, several at the base) are called *piápiá*.

IV. THE TOBACCO FIELD

249 Gardens and tobacco (*tabáko*, from the Spanish *tabaco*) fields
(*bakán*) are both prepared from old rice fields, but, in the case of
the *bakán*, the level parts are usually preferred; and so the term
mazónut for "clearing a level plot of ground" is also the common term
for "clearing the *bakán*".

The term *magkápug* for "weeding" has exactly the same meaning
here as when it is used in connection with the *kadánan* (garden). It
is customary, however, to remove as much as possible all trees and
stumps of trees that were left in the field, when former crops were
raised: this work is called *magkusáp*. Felling trees for timber is
magkallán.

The biggest difference between a *kadánan* (garden) and a tobacco
field is the absence of a regular fence around the latter. Its only
protection against the inroads of animals is the *dal-át* or heap of
rubbish, that consists mostly of weeds and canes proceeding from the
surrounding grounds and piled up all around. The same contrivance
is occasionally resorted to in the case of fields planted with Indian

249 (magkaskás) from the *agdërâyân*-pole and then piled up (*magsaldít*) somewhere on the floor of the house, next to the wall, where they are left to cure. To keep the bulk (*saldít*) of tobacco leaves in place, a stick is fixed somewhere in the floor, and the bulk of tobacco finds its place between this stick on one side and the wall of the house on the other.

249 While the tobacco is curing, the men prepare (*mañolapí*) boxes
415 (*kolapí*) for the final storage. These *kolapí*, which are as high as they are long and very narrow, are made from the bark of one or more
314 of the following trees:

The *adaán*, a forest tree with large leaves.

The *ánut*, a forest tree whose timber is not much esteemed.

The *labdó*, mentioned before, when treating sugar cane.

Before storing (*ipintá-*) the hands of tobacco in the *kolapí*, the Isneg spread some *bánây*-leaves on the bottom, to serve as a pad (*annáp*) and to cause the leaves to become red. The *bánây* is a very tall zingiberaceous plant with white flowers and grows in thickets of bamboo grass and in waste places.

To cause the tobacco to appear very valuable to prospective buyers, some *taróyog* are mixed with the leaves stored in the *kolapí* (box). The *taróyog* is a low herb that grows in forested areas.

V. THE ISNEG ORCHARD

245 The Isneg have no idea of a real orchard as we understand it. Nevertheless there is no village, almost no house, where they have not at least a few coco palms growing on the grounds, which surround the house yard or the group of houses that constitute a village. To people who walk along a mountain path or paddle down a river on a canoe or a raft, these coco palms are very often visible from a great distance and are the surest sign of the actual or former existence of one or more habitations in their immediate neighborhood.

All fruit trees planted by the Isneg are to be found on the grounds just mentioned, but there is none more precious and more important to the inhabitants of Apayaw than the universally cultivated coco palm or *iyúg*.

245 As to the question of its introduction into Apayaw, let us listen to
824 what *Lampá* from Dangla (O dialect, Main branch) has to tell us
539 about it:

Naggáyatán náyá iyúg
Origin of the coconut

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To nōnnā ſā alāwā ſy nagdallis nalnāp ſāmin to alawāzān ſām 245
 āwān piām maiyūg kid apāyaw, / ſām ſy rānna la uodd da iyūg ga 824 ●
 nillōd. / Nāſiān datō tōlāy ſluzānda ſā totō ſām bakkōnda namāla- / 539
 Nāſiān din to kuā ſinaluzānna ſēna iddān kadatō tōlāy ſēda imūla. /
 Tōwin ya naggāyatān ſāmin ſā iyūg. / Nām xapō ta ipaandāi dāyā
 kuā to nānālō-da kitō nagdallisna kitō nōnnā ſā alāwā ſēno atān ya
 mānallōd ōnō mānāzād mīſiranāirāw dāyā kuā māxāwāgda ka iyūg.

In former days the whole world was covered with a flood, but no coconuts were yet produced in Apayaw, / but it happened that there was a coconut that floated down. / The men saw it, they really desired it, but they did not get it. / A cat saw it then, it got it swimming, then gives it to the men, then they plant it. / That is the origin of all the coconuts. / But, because the cats managed to take it out of the flood in former days, when somebody causes [coconuts] to float down or scrapes out coconut meat, the cats mew, they call the coconuts.

When somebody intends to plant coconuts, the first thing he has to 245
 do is to climb one or more of the trees and to detach (*mamūzāt*,
buzdān) a certain amount of ripe nuts (*iyūg*), which are dropped on
 the ground and afterwards picked up; cracked ones of course are use-
 less for this purpose. A man who has been roasting meat should [244]
 abstain from gathering nuts (*manuzānug*) for some time, lest the trees
 that grow from these nuts produce nothing else but fruits that wither
 before they are grown to maturity.

The nuts (*patūbo*) are tied without more ado to a pole that has
 been stuck somewhere in or near the house yard, in order to cause
 them to sprout (*mañardy* or *magpaardy*). There are very few houses
 in Apayaw in whose immediate neighborhood there is not to be found
 such a pole with its heap of dry coconuts. Here they are left until
 the shoots have attained a certain development and they are ready
 to be planted.

The meat of sprouting nuts (*ardy*) that are in their first stage [242]
 namely before the shell has been pierced, consists of a white spongy
 mass (*tobāl*) that fills the whole nut and is considered as a great
 dainty.

To plant coconuts (*magtubān*) the Isneg men dig holes in the
 ground, at a distance of at least fifteen feet (*dapān*) from one another.
 Then the man who does the actual planting proceeds in the following
 way:

First he loosens his G-string, because
nezāt ya abāg ſēno nanulit a būnūtān

The tawny nestlike appendages situated at the base of the leaf of ²⁴⁵the coco palm, are called *appit*.

Among the several varieties of *iyug*, two are especially remarkable:

The *xana-nát*: It is very much esteemed; its nuts contain abundant milk and their meat remains comparatively soft even when completely ripe.

The *pokópo*- or *parópo*:- Its fruits are rarely numerous, and they can generally be reached without climbing the tree, as the latter never grows very tall.

Besides the coco palm, the Isneg cultivate many other fruit trees, ²⁴⁵usually on the same grounds. These are of much less importance, ⁸²⁴however, than the coco palm, and so I shall merely enumerate them and add a few details whenever necessary or advisable.

The *lumbán* or *dommón* (*Citrus decumana*, Murr.), pomelo.

The *kutdáy* (*Citrus aurantium*, L.), orange.

The *kakíl* (from the Spanish *cajel*, "a kind of orange") or *arañxita* (from the Spanish *naranjita*, "small orange"), a variety of small orange.

The *alolonsít*, *kalomansi*, *kalamansi* (none of them genuine Isneg terms) or *daldáyap ári* (literally: king's *daldáyap*), (*Citrus mitis*, Blanco): A variety of lime, yellow when ripe.

The *balds* or *daldáyap* (*Citrus lima*, Lunan), a small variety of lemon.

The *ushca*, a small variety of lemon; larger than the *daldáyap*; yellow when ripe.

The *aroñroñót*, a variety of lemon, as large as a small orange, with very rough peel, yellow when ripe.

The *ximná*, a variety of very large citron, more or less globose, yellow when ripe.

The *paká*- (*Artocarpus communis*, Forst.), breadfruit.

The *anaiká* (*Artocarpus integrifolia*, L.f.), jack.

The *mañgá* or *amañgá* (*Mangifera indica*, L.), mango.

The *kardowélas* (from the Spanish *ciruela*, "plum"), (*Spondias purpurea*, L.), *ciruela*, a plumlike fruit.

The *kapyá* (*Carica papaya*, L.), papaya or papaw.

The *lumbóy* or *loñbóy* (*Eugenia jambolana*, Lam.), Java plum or jambool. The infusion obtained from its bark is drunk as a remedy for dysentery.

The *makópa* (*Diospyros discolor*, Willd.), mabolo. Fruit globose, fleshy, densely covered with hairs; stones two.

245 The *santól* or *santór* (*Sandoricum koetjape* [Burm.f.] Merr.), sandal
tree. Fruit globose, yellowish; pericarp thick; seeds large, surrounded
by a soft, translucent or pale, edible, acid pulp.

The *piyét* (*Averrhoa bilimbi*, L.). Its acid fruit is edible and much
used for condiments.

The *ulilid*, growing wild and occasionally cultivated: A large tree,
whose edible fruits, when ripe, consist in a yellow drupe, the size of
a small tomato (globose variety), and contain two stones.

The Isneg have several ways of gathering fruits from a tree. When-
ever possible of course they simply pick them from below; otherwise
they either climb the tree or shake it (*xoyyowán* or *yagyaggán*).
Sometimes they use a *razúd*, a stick or bamboo provided with a hook,
whether natural or artificial, in order to detach the fruits (*magdo-dó*)
and cause them to drop down. Finally they get some fruits by throw-
ing a stick through the crown of a tree.

Fruits are gathered in the same way, whether one or more are picked
(*magpanndt*) for present use, or all of them are harvested at once
(*magdakná*).

A fruit that has been overlooked and is left on the tree is called a
kátat.

VI. OTHER PLANTS

Here follows a list of trees, shrubs and herbs that are cultivated by
the Isneg and have been omitted in the preceding treatment of the
garden and the orchard. Most of them are planted somewhere at
the outskirts of the village or around the house yard, like the coco
palm and other fruit trees; but I thought it better to treat them
separately, because, either they are not trees at all, or else they could
hardly be counted as fruit trees in the strict sense of the word. Some
of the herbs are found occasionally in the *kaddnan* (garden), but this
is rather exceptional.

Cultivated for culinary purposes

241 The *maróngáy* (*Moringa oleifera*, Lam.), horse-radish tree. Its
824 leaves and fruits are used for vegetables.

262 The *katúdáy* or *kasúdáy* (*Sesbania grandiflora* [L.] Pers.). Flowers
and pods are used for vegetables.

[263] The *salamági* (*Tamarindus indica*, L.), tamarind. Its pods are used
for condiments.

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The *tósi*, *katósit* or *antósit* (*Bixa orellana*, L.), achiote or annatto tree. The seeds are used for condiments.

The *kapé* (from the Spanish *café*), coffee. The plants known in commerce as *robusta* are much more frequently cultivated in Apayao than the *arabica*: this points to a comparatively recent introduction.

The *kakáw* (from the Spanish *cacao*), (*Theobroma cacao*, L.), cacao or chocolate tree.

Palms and bamboos

The *bowá* (*Arecia catechu*, L.), betel palm or areca palm.

The *litag*, wild betel palm, occasionally cultivated.

The *alimmuráyán*, a variety of betel palm with very small nuts.

The *lasípá* or *labíd* (*Livistona rotundifolia*, Mart.), a kind of fan palm whose leaves are used for raincoats, thatch, etc. Its fruits are called *kulában* or *kulalbán*.

The *kawáyan* (*Bambusa blumeana*, Schultes. f.), the ordinary spiny bamboo.

The *pasínan*: A kind of spiny bamboo whose walls are lined with a membrane. It is used in basketwork, in the building of huts, in traps for catching wild boars, etc.

The *pa-lí*: A kind of slender spiny bamboo, mostly used in basket-work.

The *bólo* (*Schizostachyum mucronatum*, Mack.), the ordinary unarmed bamboo. Occasionally cultivated.

Cultivated for their perfume

The *alanízán* (*Canarium odoratum* [Lam.] Baill.), ylang-ylang.

The *bañáw*: A shrub with round brown fruits. Its leaves are used for perfume.

The *sapítán* (*Andropogon citratus*, DC.), lemon grass. Sometimes planted in the *kómán* (rice field).

Cultivated for ornamental purposes

The *sarawénes* or *barawénes* (not genuine Isneg), (*Delonix regia* [Boj.] Ral.), peacock flower, flame tree or flamboyant.

The *láyañá* or *áyañá* (*Hibiscus rosa-sinensis*, L.), China rose or shoeblack plant.

The *malmalókoñ* (*Northopanax cochleatum* [Lam.] Miq.), saucer-leaf.

The *dummaryá* (from the Spanish *Doña María*, "Lady Mary"),

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241 (Codiaeum variegatum [L.] Blume), croton. Leaves very variable in
824 form and color.

● The *patoddón* (Euphorbia neriifolia, L.), a fleshy shrub.

The *sinandilá*, (Nopalea coccinellifera [Mill.] Salm-Dyck.), cochineal fig.

The *binadg* (Helianthus annuus, L.), sunflower or turnsole.

[301] The *tugnúr*: A herb about half a yard tall. Its red fruits, strung on a thread, are worn around the head by boys and girls.

The *báon* (Crinum asiaticum, L.). Flowers white and fragrant.

The *katañldy* (Alosia cristata, L.), cocksecomb.

The *batónit* (from the Spanish *botones*, "buttons"), (Gomphrena globosa, L.), globe amaranth.

The *apasopáso* (Alternanthera versicolor, Regel). Leaves green and red or purplish.

And several others mentioned before, chiefly when treating tobacco amulets.

Cultivated for other uses

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§24 The *rawád* (Piper betle, L.), betel or betel pepper.

The *dilawá*: A variety of domesticated betel with large yellow leaves.

[224] The *túba* (Croton tiglium, L.). Its fruits are used for poisoning fish.

The *sañldy* or *kápat* (Ceiba pentandra [L.] Gaertn.), God tree, ceiba tree, Bombay ceiba, silk-cotton tree or kapok tree.

[291] The *arinosó*: A tree whose bark is used for G-strings, headbands, strings, etc. Its leaves are very large.

The *darapiniyá* (derived from *piniyá*, Spanish *piña*, "pineapple"), *magí* or *amazdy* (from the Spanish *maguey*), (Agave cantula, Roxb.),

[283] *maguey*, sisal hemp or century plant. Its fiber is used for thread to sew clothes.

The *lubírdn* (Sansevieria zeylanica [L.] Willd.), bowstring hemp. It prevents smallpox from entering the village.

- 226 Sometimes the fish are poisoned with tobacco
 • [52] or the juice derived from the berries of the tuba bush.
 Also several types of fish traps are used.

224 Deer and wild pigs are hunted with dogs. Wild pigs are also trapped in their runways. The meat thus obtained is divided with fellow hunters and among neighbors. The hunting technique is quite communistic.

SOCIETY

621 The government of the Apayaos is simple. In
 622 each family the man rules supreme and orders his wo-
 [59] man what to do. This is the unit.

[36] A group of from 15 to 30 families build their
 houses near each other, *babalay*, being joined together
 for mutual aid and protection under one head man,
 [57] *maingel*, who holds his position because he is the na-
 [55] tural leader, is wealthy, and is the stongest and fiercest
 622 warrior. The *maingel* wears a red turban on his head
 624 and his arms are tattooed to the shoulders. He is ab-
 solute ruler; but has several advisory assistants, *pang-*
marwan, who likewise have won their position through
 ability. The next best man to the *maingel*, is his
 number one assistant and so on. The common man
 may advise a *pangmarwan*. Upon the death of the
maingel the number one *pangmarwan* takes his place.

627 The *maingel* and *pangmarwans* sit as a court to judge
 692 any one who has broken the common law. Disputes
 between individuals are settled by intermediary peace
 681 makers. It is notable that the fines are not paid to
 the government, but to the injured party, who receives
 the suitable indemnity. This may be in the form of
 jars, beads, animals, and other valuables.

The Common Law enjoins that man must not: 685
steal, tell false stories of others, court the wife of an- 683
other, nor make trouble at a feast. It further enjoins 684
that a man must respect the rights of individuals, 687
give food to visitors, give aid to neighbors, and that 867
parents shall teach children the old customs and legends,
as well as correct them in order that they may grow up properly.

The Apayaos have a very complete system of so- 576
cial etiquette which might be characteristic of a high 192
culture. It displays a nice sense of fitness and an innate
kindliness of nature. Hospitable customs make the visitor's
stay a happy one. There is even no embarrassing sense of
indebtedness for gifts of service or materials to be expressed:
for the people have no word meaning "thank you" in their
dialect. When one goes on a journey, there is no word meaning
"good-bye": no sad word of farewell. One just walks away
as if he were going down to the river to take a bath. When
he returns, even after a long absence there is no word of
greeting. He is treated just as if he had only come back
from taking his bath. As a matter 515
of fact he may have; for it is the custom to take a bath
in the last river crossed before reaching home.

The people keep their houses and surrounding 356
grounds clean and neat. Clothing is kept washed, 515
and daily baths in the river are taken. The bark of 824
the *taplet* tree is used for cleansing purpose.

The Apayaos are remarkably modest about their 516
persons. A woman must not allow her legs to spread 834
when squatting to a sitting position nor allow her *tapis*
to go above her knees. Even when there are no 834

776 The *Danag* live in trees and act like fairies. If
● [824] a tree is cut down and it does not fall, a *Danag* inhabits that tree. *Danags* enjoy playing practical jokes. If something awkward happens on the way, a *Danag* did it. Or sometimes, when some priestess is calling her *anito*, a *Danag* will show up instead.

782 The usual method used to gain the favor or help of an *anito* is to give him a feast. This may vary in name, size, details, and extent, according to the occasion and wealth of the party who gives the feast. The
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574 general procedure; however, at a feast is about as follows:

[797] The relatives and family giving the feast gather in the house one evening while the priestess, *durarakit*, performs a ceremony in which she calls the suitable *anito* and invites it to enjoy the feast. She spreads a mat near the door, places on it a bundle of unthreshed rice, some *buyo*, with possibly other articles, and ties a small chicken near by. The priestess stands on the mat and, to the cadence of the drum and bronze gongs, side shuffles her feet and waves her extended arms, at the same time calling in an old chant for the *anito* to come to the feast. In a few minutes her eyes dilate and she begins to tremble in a trance. The *anito* has come. She continues talking to it, telling it to be happy and to please help as desired. After a while she comes out of her trance and starts placing *buyo* with leaves and lime, together with grass bundles, on the jars of *basi* and on the animals which are to be killed. (Dogs and pigs are eaten only at feasts.) The *durarakit* performs this that there may be peace at the feast.

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
 OA19 Ifugao
 Apayao OA5
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ON THE CORDILLERA

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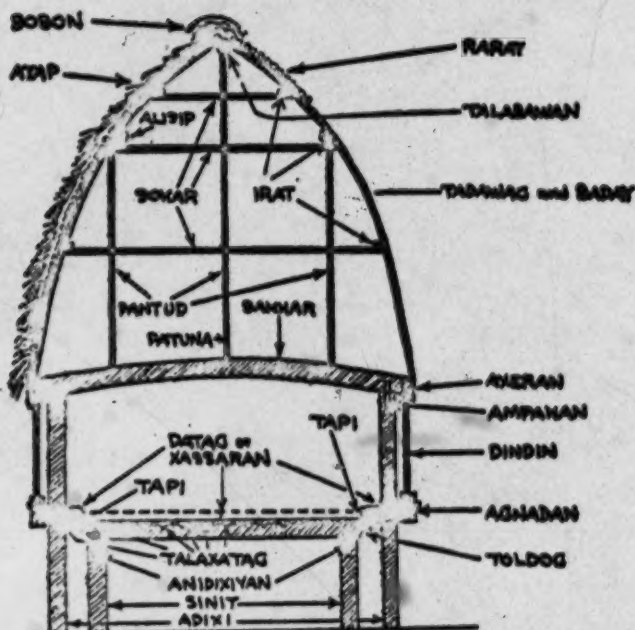


Fig. 6. --- Isneg binuron-style house. The diagram is a composite of an unoccupied house built about 1905 in *barrio* Magabta, Kabugao, and another unoccupied house in *sitio* Mallaw, Namultugan, examined on 18-20 April 1956; terminology taken from "Isneg Buildings" by Morice Vanoverberg, CICM, *The Philippine Journal of Science*, Vol. 82, No. 1 (March 1953), pp. 77-108.

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 (113)

Southern Strain. Each of these two long girders (*ana-dixiyan*) is mortised into the top of three posts (*sinit*) which elevate the floor to about the height of a man's shoulder, and across these girders are eleven floor joists (*toldog*). The actual flooring (*datag* or *xassaran*), however, is a mat of bamboo grass or rattan, and it rests on a series of thin laths (*talaxatag*) mortised into the upper surface of the joists, parallel, therefore, to the girders beneath. Also riding on the joists are two longi-

24:Scott H, M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966
OA19 Ifugao
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tudinal beams or stringers (*tapi*) whose top surface is about three inches higher than the flooring and into which are mortised, at the same level, four longer crossbeams (*agnadan*)—two at one end of the house and two at the other—which protrude a foot or more beyond the ends of the joists. Mortised into the outer ends of these crossbeams are their horizontal equivalent, sills into which the base of the wall-boards (*dingding*) are rabbeted; and between these sills and the parallel stringers short laths are also mortised to support a sort of flooring platform or seat about a foot wide along both sides of the house.

A remarkable feature of the Isneg house is the way in which the roof is supported on posts which are set in the ground *outside* the floor-supporting posts but *inside* the wooden walls of the house, passing up through the little side platforms. These six posts (*adixi*) carry two longitudinal beams (*ampakan*), while three crossbeams (*sakkar*) are mortised into either the posts themselves or the *ampakan*-beams. Fitted into the outer ends of these crossbeams are longitudinal beams serving both as a base for the rafters (*tadawag* and *baday*) and as the upper track for the wall-boards, the appropriate groove being deep enough to allow the boards themselves to be lifted up and slipped out of the lower groove so that the house can be converted into a kind of open covered platform. From the crossbeams also rise a kingpost (*patuna* or *pantud*) and two queenposts (*pantud*), across which are three tiebeams (*sokar*) terminating in three purlins (*irat*) on each inner face of roof, which is a base of reeds (*rarat*) to which the grass roofing (*atap*) is lashed. The rafters themselves, alternately wood and reed, are bowed into a graceful arc, and rise to a ridgepole (*talabawan*)

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[824]•

24:Scott H,M-4,5 (1954-1960) 1966

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which protrudes beyond the ends of the house to protect the smoke holes in the gables.

The Isneg house not being square in plan, its opposite ends are quite different from one another. At one end, just outside but a bit higher than the transverse beam into which the upper ends of the wall-boards are rabbeted, is another transverse beam whose upper edge is grooved to receive a second tier of wall boards which close the upper section of the gable save for a few feet at the top which are left open as a smoke hole or only loosely covered with horizontal bamboo. The other end of the house terminates in a kind of transverse platform or annex with a lean-to roof up against the gable itself; at the outer two corners of this little annex, in line with the full width of the building, are two more *sinit*-posts under the wall itself, a circumstance which has led some observers to report with slightly dramatic exaggeration that the floor, walls and roof of the Isneg house are supported on three separate sets of posts. The floor of

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this annex is slightly higher than even the little side platforms of the house proper; Cole reported fifty years ago that it was a special sleeping area for men,¹⁰⁴ and H. Otley Beyer recalls that women were not even allowed to set foot there.¹⁰⁵ In the long sides of the

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house three or four windows are produced simply by omitting some of the wall-boards; since the door opens into one of these sides, however, it might be more appropriate to refer to it as the "front" rather than "side".

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Entrance is gained by means of a permanent short flight of steps or ladder.

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¹⁰⁴ Cole, Fay-Cooper, "Distribution of the Non-Christian Tribes of Northwest Luzon," *American Anthropologist*, new series, Vol. XI, No. 3 (July-September 1909), p. 347.

¹⁰⁵ Personal statement during interview in Manila on Feb. 19, 1962.